

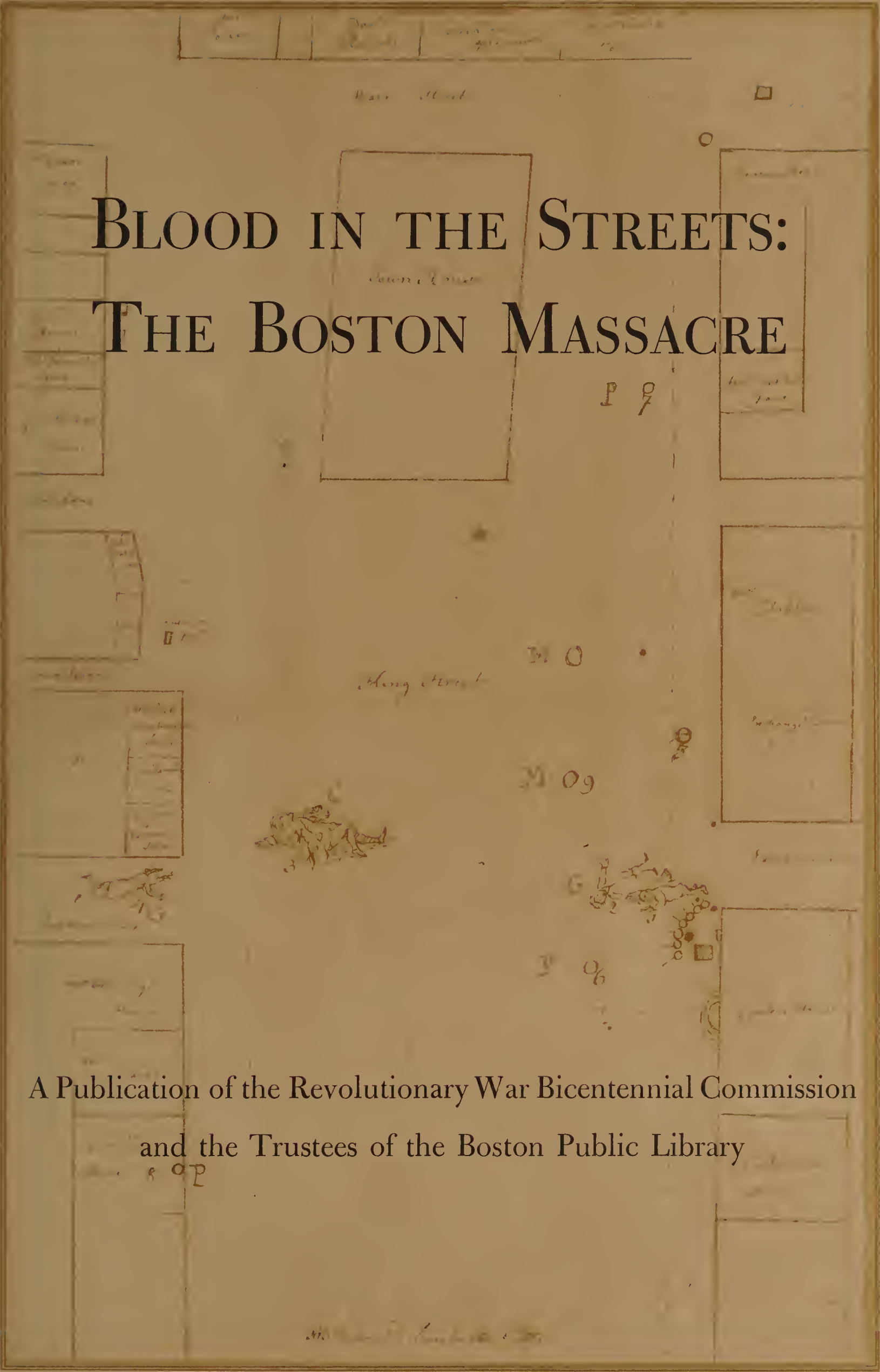
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BLOOD IN THE STREETS: THE BOSTON MASSACRE

A Publication of the Revolutionary War Bicentennial Commission
and the Trustees of the Boston Public Library

Blood in the Streets:
The Boston Massacre



Blood in the Streets:
THE BOSTON MASSACRE
5 March 1770



*A Publication of the Revolutionary War Bicentennial Commission
and the Trustees of the Boston Public Library*

BOSTON: 1970

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Foreword



riters of textbooks on United States history and, indeed, historians of the American Revolution have generally considered that the Boston Massacre played a minor role in the coming of the war. Since the repeal of most of the customs duties occurred shortly after the Massacre, though the actions were unrelated, the general spirit of quiet that pervaded the country during most of 1771 and 1772 lends credence to this attitude.

But the importance of the Massacre in its own time and place should not be underestimated, either. For a short period of time the Royal Governor must have feared that a general outbreak of rioting might follow, and the leaders of the popular faction used this incident to whip up popular feeling against the troops and against the royal officials as well. Through publications, engravings, broadsides, sermons, and the annual orations to commemorate the event, the spirit of animosity against the government of Britain was kept alive by the wily Boston propagandists, and what is really a footnote in history became in its own time and place a *cause célèbre*.

The materials in this pamphlet, published by the Massachusetts Revolutionary War Bicentennial Commission in collaboration with the Boston Public Library, indicate much of the excitement that was engendered by the incident. In the manuscripts and other contemporary materials relating to the Massacre and the trial of the British troops here reproduced from that Library's collections, some sense of being present at the making of history may perhaps be gained. If Mr. Alden's essay on the Massacre stresses shadows as well as light, the episode may yet take on further substance for the reader of these pages.

Jordan D. Fiore

1470.

Hia! canst thou chuse but laugh to see the State
Of Men's new Follies, and the Freaks of Fate?

DEMO.

First Quart. 23 Day 7 Morn. | Last Quart. 17 Day 8 Morn

W. W. Courts, Atty Tid Water, Ec. r. C. F. l'en. D. pl. r. D. O. S.

1	5	foul Weather.	8 12 1	7	5	5	4	32	head	11 24	21
2	6	Purifi. Vir Mary. Vc.	8 12 1	7	4	5	5	26	neck	Morn	2
3	7	Cold		7	3	5	6	13	18	0 3	23
4	G	and		7	2	5	7	0	arms	1 45	24
5	2	(windy.		7	1	5	7	47	16	2 45	25
6	3	Sup. C. Portsmouth.		6	59	6	8	34	breast	3 45	26
7	4	Per. * 4 moderate		6	58	6	9	20	16	4 45	27
8	5	high Tides. thawy		6	56	6	10	6	heart	5 40	28
9	6	7's's fer. 1 40. Weath.		6	55	6	10	5	15	6 15	29
10	7	P. N. 1. 10.		6	54	6	11	41	29	6 26	30
11	G	Yard L. sets 1 40. good		6	52	6	12	30	belly	7 36	31
12	2	Weather		6	50	6	1	19	27	8 4	32
13	3	I. f. C. Northamp. for		6	49	6	2	8	reins	9 45	33
14	4	Valentine. (the Seafm.		6	48	6	2	57	23	10 52	34
15	5	raw cold Vc. 4		6	47	6	3	46	secrets	11 52	35
16	6	cloudy		6	46	6	4	35	19	Morn	36
17	7	Weather.		6	44	6	5	24	thighs	0 49	37
18	G	in * 4 ♀.		6	42	6	6	8	13	1 43	38
19	2	Ind. C. S. Kingst pleasant		6	40	6	6	52	25	2 33	39
20	3	S. C. Fair. I. C. Tams		6	39	6	7	36	knees	3 20	40
21	4	7's's fer 12. 43 If 8		6	38	6	8	20	19	4 7	41
22	5	windy. P. N. 12. 23		6	37	6	9	15	legs	4 37	42
23	6	Vc 12 ♀ cold.		6	36	6	9	59	15	5 20	43
24	7	6 4		6	35	6	10	43	25	5 40	44
25	G	Shrove Sunday. 8 Orien.		6	34	6	11	18	feet	6 54	45
26	2	excessive windy 1 8 12		6	32	6	12	8	20	7 57	46
27	3	S. C. N. Haw. I. C. Purifi and		5	30	6	12	58	head	8 4	47
28	4	stormy, but not very cold		6	29	6	1	48	17	9 4	48

1770.

HERA. O! would to God our Countries Tragick Ruth

HERA. O! would to God our Councils might be
Were but a Fable no affected Truth: My

Above: Left Quart, 10 Day 5 Morn

14. Full Moon 11 Day 11 Mo 11 Yr. D's phr. D's O. S.

15	windy	8 10 4	28	6	2	38	neck	10	13	18
26	♂ & ♀ Weather.	6 27	6	3	28	14	11	20	19	
37	Happiness is averted by al.	6 26	6	4	18	28	Morn.	20		
4	but obtained by few.	6 25	6	5	8	arms	0	28	21	
52	Sup C. Newport	6 23	6	6	1	27	1	32	22	
63	● Per. Sup C. Hartford	6 22	6	6	54	breast	2	27	23	
74	(Edgart. & Portsmouth)	6 21	6	7	47	25½	3	27	24	
85	high tides.	6 20	6	8	40	heart	4	19	25	
96	Yard L. sets 11 58.	6 19	6	9	33	24	5	2	26	
107	a P. N. 11. 23	6 18	6	10	26	belly	5	35	27	
113	spell of	6 17	6	11	18	22	C rise	28		
122	pleasant Weather	6 16	6	12	4	leins	7	35	29	
133	Sup. C. Boston. * 24	6 14	6	12	50	18	8	40	2	
144	for	6 12	6	1	36	secrets	9	49	3	
155	7*'s set. 11. 36. Match.	6 10	6	2	22	14	10	42	4	
166	perhaps a 24 ♀	6 9	6	3	9	26	11	39	5	
177	(Δ ⊙ ♀ Stomach soon.	6 7	6	3	56	highs	Morn	6		
188	Stamp Act repeal'd 1766	6 5	6	4	43	20	0	29	7	
192	● Ap. S. C. Prov. (Δ ♀	6 4	6	5	30	knees	1	22	8	
203	S. C. Windham C. Charlst.	6 2	6	6	16	15	2	10	9	
214	He's rich who, ⊙ 17	5 59	7	7	2	27	2	38	10	
225	never covets worldly	5 58	7	7	48	legs	3	15	11	
236	Self; he's poor who has	5 57	7	8	34	20	3	47	12	
247	enough, yet starves	5 56	7	9	21	feet	4	15	13	
258	LADY DAY.	5 55	7	10	7	17	4	45	14	
262	himself.	5 54	7	10	53	head	5	8	15	
273	Sup C Norw. Inf. C. Ipsw.	5 53	7	11	40	13	D sets	16		
284	♂ ⊙ ♀ (& Nantucket	5 51	7	12	33	26	8	4	17	
295	♀ Occidental. foul	5 50	7	1	26	neck	9	11	18	
306	Weather.	5 48	7	2	19	24	10	23	19	
317	7*'s set. 10 15.	5 47	7	3	12	arm	11	20	20	



n the night of Monday, March the 5th, 1770, the moon in its first quarter shone in a clear sky upon the streets of Boston. Ice and snow covered the ground; during the day there had been a slight fall of snow, but the clouds had since disappeared.

Peaceful though the scene may have been, however, the tempers of the townspeople themselves were short. It was not, this year, simply that the rigors of a New England winter had drained their energies. Rather, it was the continuing presence in the town of troops from Britain, designed to maintain law and order in the face of riots and insubordination.

To the Bostonians themselves “law and order” meant the imposition from above of new taxes and regulations instituted by the home government, to help support the new empire won largely from France in 1763, and to advance the financial interests of British merchants. Blindly ignoring the fact that their American colonies had formulated for themselves their own identity and aspirations, Britain had introduced importation and navigation laws which exacerbated the colonists from New England to the Carolinas. Even more irritating to Boston, perhaps, was the interference by Customs officers with the smuggling of goods which had long been practised by men such as John Hancock, the prominent merchant.

True, the Stamp Act of 1765 had been repealed. But there were still various duties on imports to be paid, and Commissioners of Customs to exact them, backed up by regiments of the King, whose red coats called constant attention to their presence as they strolled the streets. The fact that, whatever the merits and social graces of their officers, the soldiers themselves were often insulting and overbearing made matters worse. Not that they lacked provocation in face of taunts and jeers, and even physical violence, from the inhabitants. There had been a particularly nasty episode on the Friday prior to this Monday night. One Sam Gray, employed at the ropeworks in Hutchinson Street, had provoked a fight with a private of the 29th Regiment named Kilroy that led to a near-riot and the firing of Gray from his job.

Such was the tension of the town as the pale moon glistened faintly on the lion and unicorn standing symbolically on the corbels of the Town House at the head of King Street (which we now know as State Street). Here was the heart of Boston, center of civil government, of com-

merce, and of authority. Here were not only private homes of the affluent but also shops of storekeepers, where they offered wares landed on the Long Wharf stretching out into the harbor at the foot of the street. Here was the Exchange Tavern, where merchants met to transact their business over pots of ale or toddy. Here too was the main Guard House of the British regiments. And here was the Customs House, particular focus of the hatreds engendered by duties and their enforcement.

Outside the Customs House, on the north side of the street, a lone sentry, one Hugh Montgomery, stood guard in his box. For some reason — why should one want to wander the chilly streets of Boston, with their ice and snow, on a March evening? — there was an unusual number of townspeople abroad. Sport was provided for them, not long after eight o'clock, when a young barber's apprentice came on the scene. Earlier the lad had drawn a crowd on Brattle Street, outside the barracks there, by hectoring Captain Goldfinch of the 14th Regiment about an unpaid shaving bill. There had been a bad moment when the crowd gathered to witness the incident hindered the return to barracks of a platoon coming off duty, but Goldfinch had restrained the young officer in command, and made his way to King Street, still pursued and badgered by the lad.

Here the latter transferred his attention to the sentry outside the Customs House, jeering at him to the delight of the onlookers. Stepping out of his sentry box, Montgomery cuffed the boy. Vilifying the Redcoat for maltreating the youngster, the crowd pressed in about the pair. And then the bell of the Old Meeting House, up the street behind the Town House, began to ring. Thinking the clamor betokened fire, people rushed out of their houses, the more provident carrying their leather fire buckets. Up from Dock Square poured a mass of some two hundred men — sailors, dock workers, apprentices, journeyman laborers — who had gathered there in front of Faneuil Hall to be harangued by a mysterious man in a red cloak and a white wig. Were there amongst them men from surrounding towns to whom Sam Adams had not long before written, warning them that they might be needed in Boston on this particular night? The inference is that they were, and that their presence was preconcerted.

As nine o'clock approached, King Street swarmed with townspeople. The sentry stood alone, and, in face of an hostile and angry crowd, loaded his gun. Physically threatened by one of the mob — a six-foot mulatto, part Indian, part Negro, and part white, a laborer from Framingham, named Crispus Attucks, who carried a cudgel — Montgomery at last shouted for help from the Main Guard, up the street. The duty-officer, Captain Preston, and seven of his men made their way through the jostling mob down and across the street. Taking their stand with Montgomery, Preston and his men confronted the throng. Can he have hoped that this limited show of force would cause the crowd to disperse quietly? A disciplined and judicious officer, he unquestionably knew the possible consequences of his conduct.

The crowd pushed in upon the soldiers. Striking at Captain Preston with his club, Attucks instead knocked Montgomery to his knees. In the ensuing scuffle, Montgomery managed to regain his musket which Attucks had tried to seize. Only then did Preston order his men to present arms. And then there came the fatal command, "Fire". To this day no one knows for certain who uttered the word. Not, all agreed, friend and enemy alike, Captain Preston himself.

In the midst of King Street, three men lay dead — Crispus Attucks, young Sam Gray of Friday's ropeworks episode, and James Caldwell, a mariner. Two others were so wounded that they were later to die.

Suffolk

II. A N Inquisition Indented, Taken at Boston

within the said County of *Suffolk* the *Sixth* Day of
March In the *Fifth* Year of the Reign of Our
Sovereign Lord *George the Third* by the Grace of GOD, of
Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.
Before *Thomas Crafts* Gent. One of the Coroners of Our
said Lord the King within the County of *Suffolk* aforesaid, upon
the View of the Body of *Samuel Harvericke* then and
there being Dead, by the Oaths of *Benjamin Harrod Foreman;*

Thomas Sherburne John Boit: Thomas Harrell: Joseph
Euster: John Woodward: Thomas Brown: Joseph Clough:
John Wells: Thomas Belle: Philip Freeman: John Osborn:
Freeman Pulsifer: and Daniel Sigourney.

Good and Lawful Men of *Boston* aforesaid, within the County
aforesaid; who being Charged and Sworn to Enquire for Our said Lord
the King, when, by what Means, and how the said *Samuel*
Harvericke came to his Death: Upon their Oaths
do say, that the said *Samuel Harvericke* was wilfully and

deliberately killed and Murdered by a Musket Bullete fired by a Soldier
belonging to the Twenty Ninth Regiment of Foot, to us unknown, in King
Street on the Evening of the fifth Instant between the hours of Nine and
Ten of the Clock, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown
and Dignity, that said Musket Bullete entered into his Belly, and lodged
between his Ribs; by which means he came to his Death

In Witness whereof as well I the Coroner aforesaid, as the Jury aforesaid
to this Inquisition, have Interchangeably put our Hands and Seals the Day
and Year aforesaid.

Joseph Clough

Beni Harrod

John Wells

Tho: Sherburne

Tho: Belle

John Boit

Philip Freeman

Thomas marrable

John Osborn

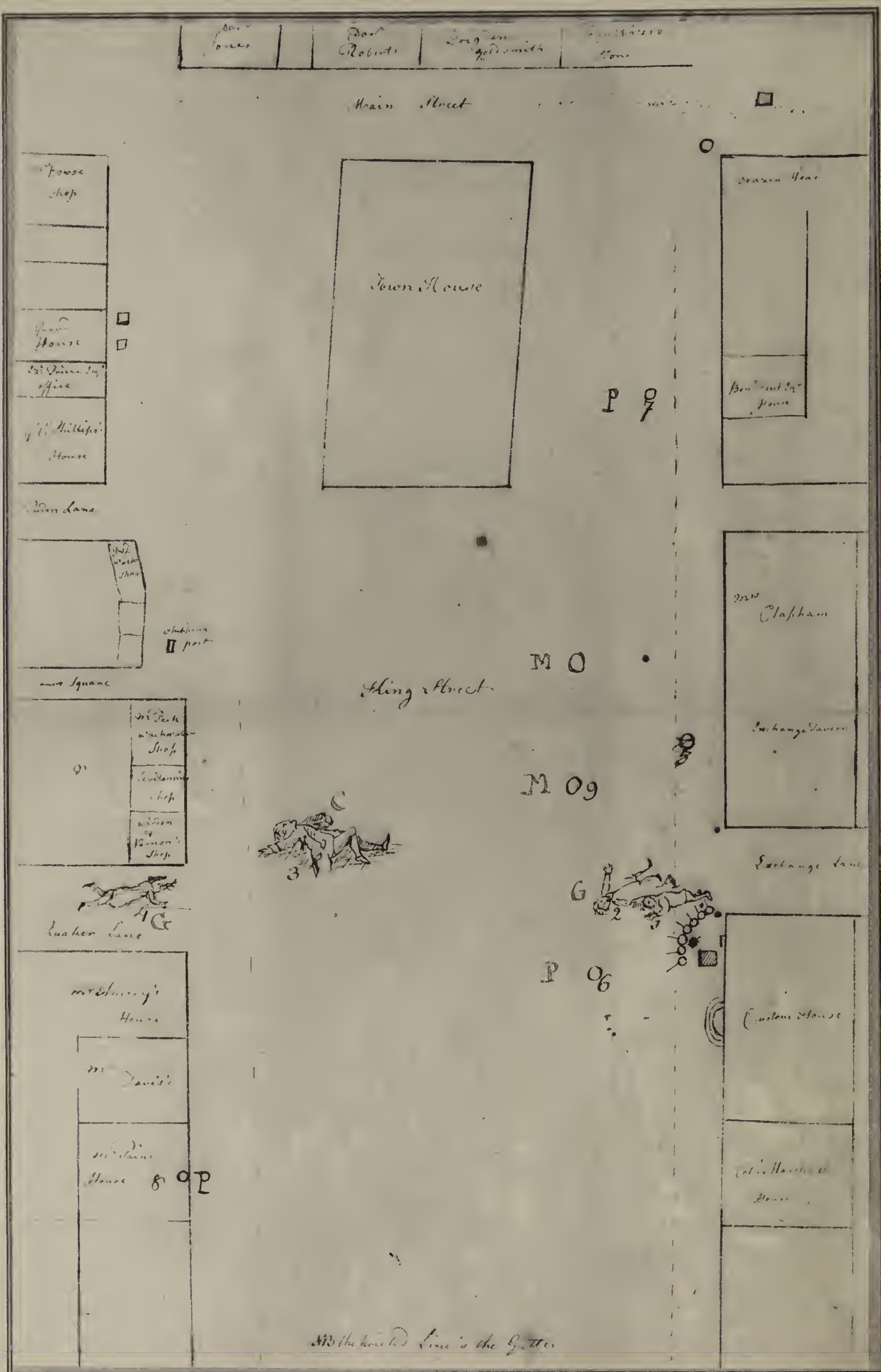
Joseph Euster

Freeman Pulsifer

John Newall Woodward

Daniel Sigourney

Mo: Brown



III. Paul Revere's plan of the Massacre, drawn for use in the subsequent trial. From the Mellen Chamberlain Autograph Collection.

From their barracks the full British forces now poured forth. Summoned from his house in the North End, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson addressed the throng from the balcony of the Town House, promising that the full course of justice would be pursued over the night's tragedy. Subdued by the events they had witnessed, the crowd, through the streets and alleys of the town, dispersed to their homes.

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One of the signs of a nation's maturity is its willingness and ability to consider the historic past objectively, to accept the less commendable along with the heroic, and constantly to re-examine accepted traditions, not necessarily viewing them through the eyes of participants and contemporaries. For if we permit ourselves illusions about the past, we are more likely to foster misconceptions about the present.

Few incidents of the American Revolution offer so necessary an occasion for re-appraisal as that of the fifth of March, 1770. Can we, without qualification, accept the picture bequeathed by Boston patriots and their leaders? Have we not instead uncritically accepted an interpretation of the episode distorted for immediate political ends?

Perhaps as significant as the events of that March night itself is its aftermath. If Sam Adams and his Sons of Liberty had hoped that the incident would spark a general uprising in town and countryside, they were disappointed. Howsoever opposed to Britain's colonial policies, many Bostonians may well have sensed that some at least of the participants in the riot represented — as John Adams was to call them — the “lower orders”, as much to be distrusted as British troops. Despite newspaper support and radical action, the moment was not ripe for revolution: it was only Britain's continuing deafness to complaints that was to lead to effective and conclusive action.

*

*

*

The morning of the 6th of March saw a Town Meeting hastily called at Faneuil Hall. Already the townspeople knew what to do. They knew, first of all, that the deaths of four men constituted a “massacre”. The political strategists were at work, to derive all possible advantages from a moment of terror. Not the least of these was to maintain at fever pitch the dismay and horror of the populace. In the evening of the same day, a further meeting was held in the Old South Meeting House, since Faneuil Hall — not yet enlarged to its present size by Charles Bulfinch — was too small to hold the assembled citizens. A committee was appointed to collect the testimony of witnesses and participants of the Massacre. On Thursday the 13th, in the following week, yet another committee comprising James Bowdoin, Dr. James Warren, and Samuel Pemberton was named, to draw up a narrative of the incident with a view to portraying it in a light as harmful to authority and as favorable to the town as possible. The three must have worked hard over the weekend — Bowdoin is credited with the major responsibility for the ensuing results — and on Monday the 19th a draft was ready. By Thursday, Edes and Gill, the printers in Queen Street (now Court Street), had copies ready, bearing the resounding title, *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre, Perpetrated in the Evening of the Fifth Day of March, 1770. By Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment . . . With Some Observations on the State of Things prior to that Catastrophe.*

Gentlemen

I am extremely sorry for the unhappy differences between the Inhabitants & the Troops and especially for the ~~disturbance~~ of the last evening and I have exerted my self upon that occasion that a due inquiry ^{may} be made and that the Law may have its course. I have in Council consulted with the Commanding Officers of the two Regiments which are in the Town. They have their Orders from the General at New York. It is not in my Power to countermand those Orders. The Council have desired that the two Regiments may be removed to the Castle. From the particular concern which the 29th Regiment has had in these differences Col^o. Dalrymple who is the Commanding Officer of the Troops has signified to me that that Regiment shall, without delay, be placed in the Barracks at the Castle until he can send to the General and receive his further Orders concerning both the Regiments and that the Main Guard shall be removed and the 14th Regiment so disposed and laid under such restraint that all occasion of future differences may be prevented.

W^m Hutchinson

Council Chamber.
6 March 1770

On the same day it was decided to send copies at once to England; Captain Gardner, about to embark for Britain, promised to take some copies and deliver them personally to their destinations in London. A list of those in England to receive them was drawn up at the same meeting. Included were members of the Royal Family, Peers of the Realm, members of Parliament — among them Edmund Burke — and private individuals known to be particularly sympathetic to America. And one woman, Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, whose *History of England* John Adams admired as an embodiment of “exact historical morality”. (His personal copy of the work is still preserved in his library.) In due course, Mrs. Macaulay was to write a letter of thanks to the “Gentlemen of the Town of Boston” for sending her the *Narrative*.

In the meantime, the two British Regiments were removed from the town itself to Castle Williams on its island in the harbor. Admittedly, delaying tactics were employed: permission to authorize the move had to be obtained from General Gage in New York. Awaiting their trial, Captain Preston and his men remained in jail. For their defense, young John Adams was induced to join Josiah Quincy, a move which, by drawing to them the anger of the Sons of Liberty, threatened to jeopardize the law careers of both. It may well have been one or the other who was responsible for the vote in Town Meeting on the 26th of March that copies of the *Short Narrative*, though sent to England, should not be distributed in Boston, since it “may be supposed by the unhappy Persons now in custody for tryal as tending to give undue Byass [i.e., bias] to the mind of the Jury.”

This did not preclude, however, Paul Revere from publishing, late that March, his celebrated print depicting the Massacre, the most famous of all his engravings. Unfortunately Revere himself, howsoever skilled as a silversmith, was not an artist, and was incapable of original work: virtually all his engravings can be traced to an earlier source, modified as need be to meet his own purposes. In the case of the Massacre print, he somehow obtained a copy of a drawing by John Singleton Copley’s half-brother Henry Pelham, and from it cut his own engraving, taking credit for the work to himself and getting it on sale before Pelham was able to do so with his own version. Not surprisingly the latter was angry, and wrote Revere to this effect. But it is Revere’s rendering of the subject that has come down to us.

The spring months passed into summer while the Crown’s officers successfully forestalled the trial of Preston and his men till tempers might run less high. Early in July a ship arrived from England bearing letters from recipients of the *Short Narrative* which were read in the Town Meeting on the 10th. The ship also brought copies of an English reprint of the pamphlet itself, published at London early in May by William Bingley.

The appearance in Boston of the London reprint was a bit hard on Edes and Gill, printers of the original edition which they had been enjoined back in March from distributing. But Town Meeting refused to rescind its earlier vote and again declined, in the name of justice, to allow them to distribute their own and make some money. In exasperation, no doubt, the printers resorted to a ruse: they simply printed up a new title leaf, imitating that of the London edition (with two inaccuracies), and substituted it for the title page of their own printing. To cover their tracks they employed another firm of printers, Kneeland and Adams, over in Milk Street, to offer it for sale.

At length, in November, Captain Preston was brought to trial. Found not guilty of having given the command to his men to fire on the crowd, no one seems to have been surprised or disappointed at his exoneration. And later, when his men were tried separately, the spirit of

Col Jackson presents his Duty to
the Lieutenant Governor, & begs
his Honor would, please to let him
know the Event of his Interview
with Col Dalrymple this Afternoon

The Lieutenant Governor has seen
Col Dalrymple and has been assured
by him that upon information of the
Report, although he could not find
out the grounds of it he had given
the strictest orders that the Soldiers
of the 29th should be kept in their Bar
racks, that he would take further
effectual care that the Inhabitants
should have no cause of uneasiness.

vindictiveness was no longer rampant. Only two of the seven were found guilty, for they alone had been seen to fire a shot which killed — Hugh Montgomery, at Crispus Attucks (who had struck at him with a club); and Matthew Kilroy, at Sam Gray (who had insulted him that Friday afternoon before the Massacre). The acquittal of the other men may owe much to the testimony, before his lingering and painful death, of one of the victims, Patrick Carr, who believed that the soldiers had indeed fired only to defend themselves. He was a native of Ireland, he said, and had often seen soldiers there provoked into shooting, but had never seen them bear half so much before they fired in his life. That Carr was a Catholic, Sam Adams argued, meant, however, that his statements were meaningless. The jury, patently, did not agree.

As for Kilroy and Montgomery, even to be found guilty brought not too harsh a sentence. By a curious vestige of medieval law they were able to “plead clergy”, a practice deriving from the days when to be able to read was proof that an individual was in religious orders and exempt from civil law. But it was a recourse one could invoke only once, recorded by branding of the thumb of the left hand, a slight howsoever painful penalty compared with the usual price for manslaughter. Exactly how Kilroy was in fact able to “plead clergy” we do not know, for judging from a petition to be tried along with Captain Preston (Plate XVII), he was unable to write his own name, affixing instead a cross.

As an advocate for the soldiers, John Adams had been successful indeed. He had seen most of his clients freed, and yet retained the good will of his fellow townsmen. True, there were those who criticized him — we shall probably never know how validly — for not cross-examining the witnesses for the prosecution as closely as he might have. Had he done so, people said, facts derogatory to the town of Boston might have been brought to light.

The termination of the trials did not, however, end the matter. To keep alive the memory of the events of that March night, the Sons of Liberty arranged an annual oration on the anniversary, beginning in 1771 and continuing through 1783. Ironically enough, in 1773 the choice of orator fell upon Dr. Benjamin Church, later found guilty of treason for relaying to the British forces in Boston useful information regarding the actions of Washington’s army at Cambridge. Of these orations, several were delivered in the Old South Meeting House. This fact, and the use of the church for other political meetings, may perhaps explain why, when British troops occupied Boston after the actual outbreak of the Revolution, they did not scruple to use the building as a riding stable.

In later years, John Adams was able to refer to the Boston Massacre as the real beginning of the Revolution. This may indeed be true. But had not wiser and more judicious men such as Adams himself taken up the cause, it might easily have remained an abortive and unsuccessful episode. And when the Constitution came to be written, the memory of how easily the “lower orders” might be led into violence by men such as Sam Adams may account for those measures incorporated in it which minimized the direct power of the people, placing it instead in the hands of the mercantile and professional classes.

As for the “Massacre” itself, that participants and propagandists sought to portray it in heroic terms was but human. With the perspective of two centuries, we need no longer do so, but can accept it as an episode in which a people’s aspiration found expression, howsoever devious on occasion the means.

John Alden

Boston March 6th 1770

I Joseph Petty of Boston Lighterman, of lawful age do Testify and Say, That between nine and ten of the Clock the last evening, on hearing the Cry of Fire and Bells ringing, and that the Fire was in King Street, I started thither: and see a number of Soldiers by the Custom House with their Guns level'd; and in an Instant of Time I heard the word fire: and a number of Guns was immediately discharged one after another ^{by the said Soldiers:} and I see three men dead on the ground immediately, That were shot by said Soldiers: One of which Person Mr Samuel Gray, who was shot dead, by a Ball through his head by said Soldiers, I assisted in Carrying to a house in Cornhill where I left him. ~~after the guns was fired and the people~~ ~~saw~~ The whole Time I was there, I see no Insult or abuse offered the Soldiers, excepting one Stick that was sent among them after the firing.

Joseph Petty

The above taken by Thomas Daues Coroner
Inquisition on S. Gray

I. Richard Ward of Lawful Age Testify & Say, that
Last Evening being the 5th of March, between the hours
of 9 & 10, I came down Kingstreet & saw a number of people
standing by the Customhouse & heard of the Soldiers that
was by the Customhouse ask the Officer if he should fire,
the Officer made no reply, but walk'd backward &
forward, soon after as some people came up Royal
Exchange Lane, the Officer said something but I don't know
what: upon w^{ch} I heard several guns discharged, & suppose
what he said was orders to fire after w^{ch} I saw 2 persons
lay dead
Richard Ward

The aforesaid Richard Ward, does further testify and say, that On the
last Sabbath evening, about dusk; he went to see one Mr Diney (who is
a Soldier in the twenty ninth Regiment and works with him in the
same Shop, as Journey man to Mr John Remond Perukemaker) who
lives near the Barracks at New Borton, when I said ^{that} Richard was there,
I heard one of the Officers say to the Sergeants, dont let none of your people
go out, unless there be eight or ten together.

The above taken by Thomas Dawes Coroner Inquisition on S. Gray

I Robert Goddard of lawful Age, testify and declare, that on the Evening of the 5th Instant between the hours of nine & ten, I heard the a Bell ~~ring~~ ring, upon which I ran toward the Town house, and hear a Cry for help, in Kingstreet. I went & stood near the Centry Box by the Custom house. I saw an Officer come toward the Box, with a party of Men, having a drawn sword in his hand. I heard him frequently repeat "Clear the way" up the Party then drew up near where the Centinel stood, and order'd his men to stand with their Bayonets charg'd. He then said "Boys, stand off or we shall wound some of you; You had better stand off" ~~At~~ a Sailor then struck the Officer, upon which he said "damn you I will not be us'd in such a manner" immediately he said "Fire" upon which the Soldiers stood for ~~two~~ a short space. The Officer then ~~repeated~~ ^{said} "Damn your Blood, Sir" I immediately heard I saw one Musquet discharge, which was directly followed by several others. I saw four men laying ~~dead~~ on the ground one of which was the deceased ^{Crispus Attucks} ~~Michael Johnson~~. The Officer order'd his men to stand with their Bayonets charg'd, after which I help'd carry the deceased into Mr Stone's, and ~~of~~ the Officer march'd off with his party with his drawn sword in his hand.

Witness 6th March 1770 — Robert Goddard

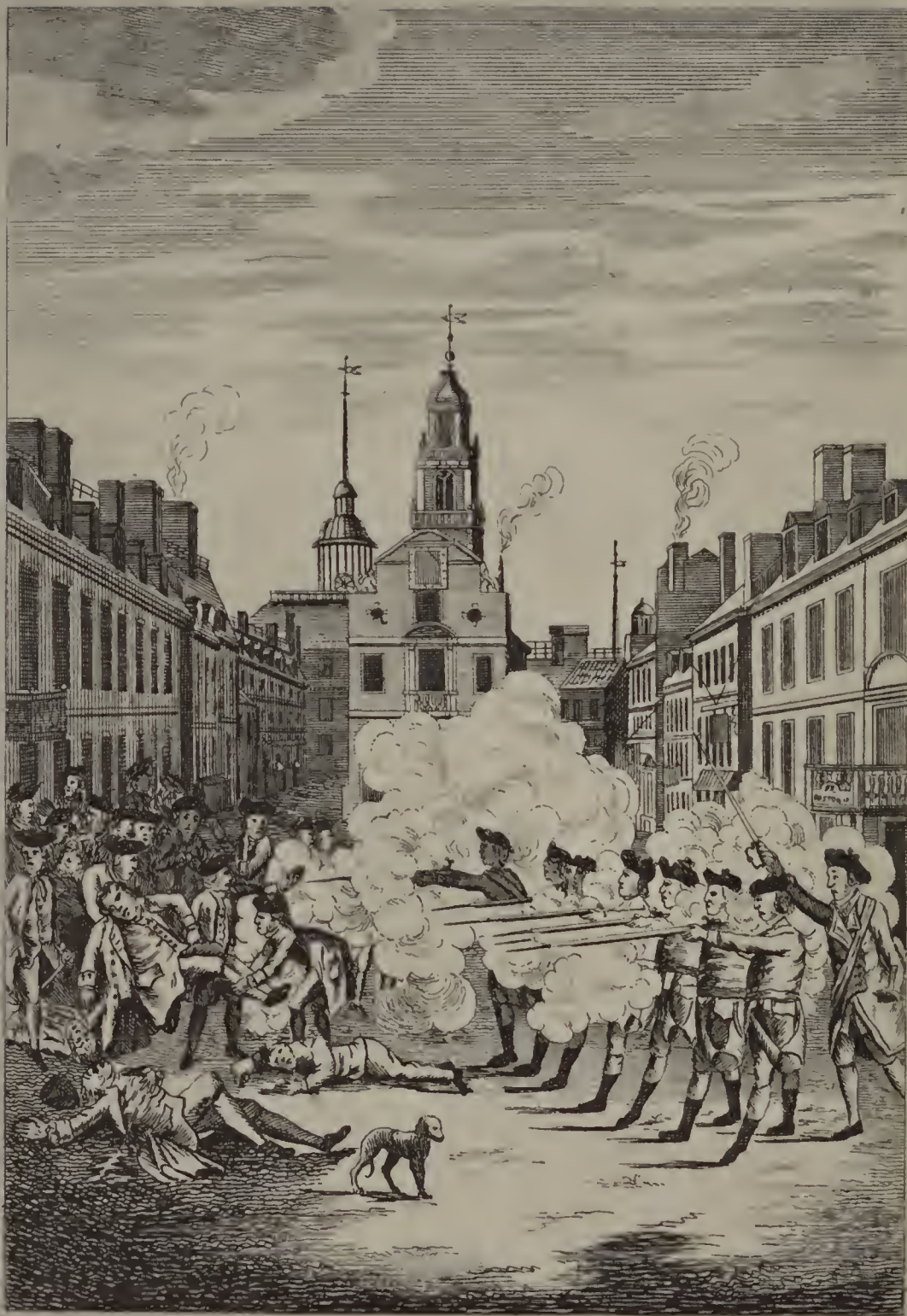
N.B. Mr. Goddard was desired to go up to the goal in order to ~~know~~ ^{see} if he knew ^{the} man, and he was satisfied that it was the same person, or Officer that Commanded the Detachment.

Lieutenant James Bassett Commanded the Main Guard after Cap^t Preston march'd off with the Detachment. and said before the Jury of Inquest that Corporal Wems, went off with the said Detachment.

VI. *Ezra Stiles*
A Short
NARRATIVE
OF
The horrid Massacre in BOSTON,
PERPETRATED
In the Evening of the Fifth Day of *March*, 1770:
BY
Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment ;
WHICH WITH
The XIVth Regiment
Were then Quartered there :
WITH SOME
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
STATE OF THINGS
PRIOR TO THAT
CATASTROPHE.

Printed by Order of the Town of BOSTON,
And Sold by EDES and GILL, in Queen-Street,
And T. & J. FLEET, in Cornhill, 1770.

IX. The *Short Narrative* as originally printed, with the signature of Ezra Stiles, later President of Yale College.



The Massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5.th 1770, in which Mess^{rs} Sam.^l Gray, Sam.^l Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks, Patrick Carr were Killed, six others Wounded, two of them Mortally.

- X. Frontispiece of the Dilly and Almon London edition of the *Narrative*, based on Henry Pelham's original engraving.

Gentlemen,

Studger Street, Westminster. May 11th 1770.



Your letter relating to the late military massacre at Boston, which I had the honour to receive by express, was accompanied with such ample proofs, considered in point of number, ^{manner}, candour, propriety & fairness of caption, that I flatter myself they will in time prevail, and establish the truth in the minds of all honest men, manure all the attempts made with art & sollicitude to represent the inhabitants as the aggressors. I had some hopes of getting the authentic copies laid before the house of commons for consideration in this session, with the other papers laid before them; but they are vanished, and the parliament will rise in a short time.

From what was openly said not long since, I understood the troops would be removed; but the times abound with uncertainty as well as difficulty.

I have the honour to be with great respect, and the sincerest wishes for the welfare of the town,

Gentlemen,

P.S.

Capt. Gardner staid here, by my direction, til this day, in order to promote the public service by his examination in the

Your most obedient

humble servant

J^r. Bowdoin Esq. & others a Com^{tee} of the town of Boston.

W. Ballantyne

A S H O R T
N A R R A T I V E
O F T H E
Horrid Maffacre in B o s t o n ,

P E R P E T R A T E D
In the Evening of the Fifth Day of March 1770.

B Y
SOLDIERS of the XXIXth Regiment, which with the
XIVth Regiment were then quartered there :

W I T H S O M E
O B S E R V A T I O N S
O N T H E
STATE of THINGS prior to that CATASTROPHE.

To which is added,

A N A P P E N D I X ,

C O N T A I N I N G

The feveral Depositions referred to in the preceding NARRATIVE;
and alfo other Depositions relative to the Subje& of it.

B O S T O N ,
Printed, *by Order of the Town,* by Meflrs. EDES and GILL ;
A N D
Re-printed for W. BINGLEY, in Newgate-Street, LONDON.
MDCCLXX,

XII. Title page of London reprint of the *Narrative* imitated by Edes and Gill in Boston.

A SHORT
NARRATIVE
OF THE
Horrid Massacre in BOSTON,

PERPETRATED

In the Evening of the Fifth Day of March, 1770.

BY

SOLDIERS of the XXIXth Regiment, which with the
XIVth Regiment were then quartered there :

WITH SOME

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

STATE of THINGS prior to that CATASTROPHE.

To which is added,

A N A P P E N D I X,

CONTAINING

The several Depositions referred to in the preceding NARRATIVE ;
and also other Depositions relative to the Subject of it.

B O S T O N,

Printed, *by Order of the Town*, by Messrs. EDES and GILL ;

A N D

Re-printed for W. BINGLEY, in Newgate-Street, LONDON.

MDCCLXX.

XIII. The Boston edition of the *Narrative* with its spurious title leaf.

Gentlemen

London May 9th 1770

I think my self much honored by the Town of Boston for their compliment of transmitting the Narrative relative to the massacre perpetrated by the military on the fifth of March.

In condoling with you on that melancholy event your friends find a considerable alleviation in the opportunity it has given you of exhibiting a rare and admirable instance of Patriotic resentment tempered with forbearance and the warmth of Courage with the coolness of Discretion.

Believe me Gentlemen there is not a Bostonian who spectator of the bloody scene who feels more sensibly than my self the hurried transaction.

Every service which is in my power to perform the Town of Boston may command and may depend upon a faithful and ardent execution.

I am Gentlemen

Your very obed

And very Humble Serv

Catherine Macaulay

Suffolk. At his Majesty's superior Court of Judicature, &c.
of Office and General Goal delivery, begun and held
at Boston, within and for the County of Suffolk on the
second Tuesday of March, in the tenth year of the
Reign of George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great
Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the
Faith &c.

The Jurors for the said Lord the King, upon their oath
present, that Thomas Preston Esq. William Wemms
Labourer, James Hartogen Labourer, William McCauley
Labourer, Hugh White Labourer, Mathew Kilbroy Labourer
William Warren Labourer, John Carroll Labourer &
Hugh Montgomery Labourer, all now resident in
Boston in the County of Suffolk, not having the Fear
of God before their eyes, but being moved and seduced by
the Instigation of the devil, and their own wicked hearts
did, on the fifth day of this Instant March at Boston aforesaid
within the County aforesaid, with force and arms, felon-
iously, wilfully, and of their malice aforethought assault
one Patrick Carr, then and there being in the peace of
God and of the said Lord the King and that the said
Hugh White a plain hand Gun of the value of two
Shillings, which he the said Hugh White then and there
held in both his hands charged with Gun-powder and
a leaden Bullet, then and there feloniously, wilfully
and of his malice aforethought, did shoot, and discharge
at and against the said Patrick Carr, and that the said
Hugh White with the leaden Bullet aforesaid, out of the
said Gun, then and there by force of the said Gun-powder
so shot, and discharged as aforesaid, did, then & there
feloniously, wilfully and of his malice aforethought
Strike, Penetrate, and wound the said Patrick Carr
in the Trunk of the Body, near the Right Hip of him the said
Patrick Carr, thereby giving to him the said Patrick Carr
in the Trunk of the Body near the right Hip of him the said
Patrick Carr, with the leaden Bullet aforesaid, so as aforesaid
shot, & discharged out of the hand gun aforesaid, by force of
the Gun-powder aforesaid, one mortal Wound six Inches
in Depth, & one Inch in Width; of which said mortal Wound
the said Patrick Carr, there languished & languishing, did live
from that time
untill the fifteenth Day of this Instant March, & then died at
Boston aforesaid of the mortal Wound aforesaid so given him as
aforesaid; and that the aforesaid Thomas Preston William Wemms
William McCauley, Mathew Kilbroy William Warren John Carroll
James Hartogen, & Hugh Montgomery, ^{feloniously, wilfully & of their malice aforethought} were there, at the same
at

of giving the said mortal Wound, as aforesaid, present aiding
helping, abetting, assisting, comforting & maintaining the said
Hugh White, to do & commit the Felony & Murder aforesaid.
And so the Jurors aforesaid, upon their Oath aforesaid, do say, that
the said Thomas Preston, William Kemm, James Hartegan,
William McCauley, Hugh White, Mathew Killroy, William
Warren, John Carroll & Hugh Montgomery, then & there in
Manner & by the means aforesaid, feloniously, wilfully and of
their malice aforethought, did kill & murder the said Patrick
Carr; against the peace of the said Lord the King, his crown
and Dignity.

John Carroll Att. pro. Regem

This is a true Bill.

Wm Taylor Foreman.

August Term 1770. And now the said Thomas Preston
is brought and set to the Bar and arraigned, and
upon his arraignment pleads not guilty. & for
Trial puts himself upon God and the Country.
all Sam^r Winthrop Cler.

To this Indictment He & Wm Kemm, James Hartegan,
William McCauley, Hugh White, Mathew Killroy, William
Warren, John Carroll and Hugh Montgomery being
also brought & set to the Bar & arraigned severally
plead not guilty, and for Trial put themselves upon
God & the Country. all Sam^r Winthrop.

Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay,
fs.

GEOERGE the Third, by the Grace of GOD,
of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, KING,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

To the Sheriff of Our County of *Suffolk* his Under-Sheriff
or Deputy, or to either of the Constables of the Town of *Boston*
in said County, Greeting.

WE Command you that you Summon *Edward Hill, Benj^a Davis,*
Henry Knox, Joseph Edwards, Benj^a Leigh,
John Froit, Theodore James Waddell, Andrew a Negro
of Oliver Wendell, Jack Negro of D^r Loys, Theodore Bliss
all of B^r Boston

(if *they* may be found in your Precinct) to appear before Our Justices
of Our Superiour Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General
Goal Delivery, *to be* holden at *Boston*
within and for Our County of *Suffolk*
on the *twenty third day of October current*
then and there in Our said Court to give such Evidence as *ye*
know on Our behalf; *on an indictment against Thomas*
Preston for Murder

Hereof fail not, and make due Return of this Writ, with your
Doings thereon, into the said Court. Witness Thomas Hutchinson, Esq;
at *Boston*, the *twentieth* Day of *October* in the
tenth Year of Our Reign. Annoque Domini 1770

Sam^r Winthrop

To the Honourable Judges of the
Superior Courts,

May it please Yr. Honours, we poor Distressed
Prisoners Beg that ye would be so good as to lett us have
our Trials at the same time with our Captain, for we
did our Captains Orders & if we dont Obay is some manner
should have been Confined & shot for not doing of it -
we Humbly pray Yr. Honours that you would take it into
Yr. serious consideration & grant us that favour, for we
only desire to Open the truth before our Captains face
for it is very hard he being a Gentleman should have more
chance, for to save his life then we poor men that is
Obliged to Obay his command - we hope that Yr. Honours
will grant this our petition, & we shall all be in duty
Bound ever to pray for Your honours

Dated Boston Goal
October 24th 1770

Hugh White
James Hartigan
Mathew ^{his} Pillroy
mark

Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay,
fs.

GEOERGE the Third, by the Grace of GOD,
of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, KING,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

To the Sheriff of Our County of *Suffolk* — his Under-Sheriff
or Deputy, or to either of the Constables of the Town of *Boston*,
in said County, Greeting.

WE Command you that you Summon *Benj^a. Davis jun^r*
James Thompson both of Boston & Sam^l. Chadwell

(if *they* may be found in your Precinct) to appear before Our Justices
of Our Superiour Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General
Goal Delivery, *now* holden at *Boston*
within and for Our County of *Suffolk*

on the *fourth with*
then and there in Our said Court to give such Evidence as
know on ~~our~~ behalf; *of sundry Soldiers of 4th Reg^t. for*
Murder

Hereof fail not, and make due Return of this Writ, with your
Doings thereon, into the said Court. Witness Thomas Hutchinson, Esq;
at Boston, the 29th — Day of *November* — in the
11 Year of Our Reign. Annoque Domini 1777

Sam^l. Mather of H^l

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